FREE SOCIETY

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An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist; and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

VOL. VI. NO. 49 SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1900. WHOLE NO. 289

ON THE FALL OF BONAPARTE.

I hated thee, fallen Tyrant! I did groan
To think that a most unambitious slave,
Like thou, should dance and revel on the grave
Of Liberty. Thou mightst have built thy throne
Where it had stood even now: thou didst prefer
A frail and bloody pomp, which Time has swept
In fragments toward oblivion. Massacre,
For this, I prayed would on thy sleep have crept,
Treason and Slavery, Rapine, Fear, and Lust,
And stifled thee their minister. I know
Too late, since thou and France are in the dust,
That Virtue owns a more eternal foe
Than Force or Fraud: old Custom, Legal Crime,
And bloody Faith, the foulest birth of Time.

—Percy Bysshe Shelley.

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THE PARIS CONGRESS.

COMRADES AND FRIENDS:—The greatest enemies of improvement and progress will agree with me that the modern means of communication have done the world a lot of good; of course we must also take into the bargain the evil that some improvements carry with them. This is especially true of the cable system, which carries news as quick as lightning from one part of the globe to the other. It was already on the 19th inst. that the comrades of America were startled by the news of the suppression of our Congress; and only weeks later will they find out how and by whom it was done, as well as all other details. However, I hardly think that the suppression was much of a surprise to many people; rather would it have been surprising, if our Congress were not interfered with. A German proverb says: "It is unwise to mention rope in the home of one just hanged." So we may well say about all in any way connected with the system of robbery and despotism. Just mention the word Anarchy; and terror seizes everyone, from the throne to the commonest policeman, from the multimillionaire down to the lowest shopkeeper living on the sweat of the people. Is it because they rea'ly think that every Anarchist is a bombthrower, or necessarily carries a dagger in his belt? Oh, no, they know better; they know too well that the majority of Anarchists by temperament detest bloodshed in every form. The real reason for the dread of all organized tyranny toward Anarchiy, lies in the fact that Anarchism undermines the system of power maintained by each and every means, no matter at what cost; and therefore it must not be allowed to spread. "What fools these mortals be!" Here the champions of authority go on suppressing the growth of Anarchy, persecuting Anarchists, and in all their glorious idiocy failing to see that thereby they are doing more to provoke interest in the ideas they are so anxious to kill, than the ablest man in our movement.

That an Anarchist Congress was called at all, is really due to our naivete, to our child-like belief that some governments are better than others; that if our gatherings are suppressed in Germany, Italy, Spain, and Russia, they surely must be permitted in France, the country of which every wall reechoed with the cry "a la Bastille," "a bas le roi," "vive la Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite," "ni Dieu, ni Maitre," etc; that it would be allowed in Paris, the city of revolution, the history of which has been written with the blood of its people, the sons and daughters of which have stood on the barricades, days, nights, weeks, fighting and dying for Liberty; the city which holds out a warning to all crowned heads, in the Place de la Concorde, upon which Louis XVI and the beautiful Marie Antoinette were beheaded; the city which has built a monument on the site of the once hideous Bastille, to the memory of Camille Desmoulins, and the innumerable unknown who threw down the black walls in which France's grandest men lay buried for life; Paris, that can boast of a Montmartre, upon which the sons of the Commune bathed in the light of the setting sun, that is nowhere seen so beautiful as here, in all their grand and noble zeal, fought the last battle for Liberty; Paris, with its Pere la Chaise and the wall of the federals killed there by the whiskey and absinthe brutalized soldiers of Thiers and Galliffet, buried in one hole, and even now after thirty years kept alive by wreaths of flowers, ribbons and inscriptions of all those whose hearts throb for Freedom; Paris, whose boys and girls from fifteen to sixteen years up to snowhaired men and women, vibrate with the memory of the past and the hope of the future; Paris, whose children have given the world all that human skill, ability, and genius can produce, gathered in the Exhibition; and last but not least, Paris, the only city that is ruled by a "radical" government and a Socialistic minister.

Surely in this city, in which thousands of people from all over the world hold counsel with each other, we, the Anarchists, could come together and peacefully discuss. That must have been the thought of the comrades who signed the first call for the Congress, and all those who helped to organize and make it a success. Poor naive Pouget, you who know, like no one else, how to reach the common people in their own tongue, and you Pelloutier, young genius that you are, with your success in organizing 300,000 men in a body to hold together and stand up for the principle of human independence, and you Domela Nieuwenhuis, with the Christ-like head, and the temperament of a child, loved and honored by all who know you, you who have raised your children as workingmen, although you have devoted your wealth to our cause, and all of you, who have worked for a year to make the Congress a success, you were wise enough to choose the Paris of the revolutionary spirit; but you were very unwise to forget the Socialistic ministry. Therefore you and I and all of us must stand the consequences.

The fact of the matter is, that no consequences of an unpleasant character have arisen. True, the Congress was prohibited; but what are prohibitions for, if not to be broken? And so the Congress took place, in spite of all and every order; on a smaller scale, that is true, but by no means less important. This will be seen by the results, of which some are already in print, and the others to follow.

The difference between a Socialistic and any other government is the hypocritical liberalism of the former, and the open despotism of the latter. Any other government would have suppressed our Congress in its embryo, or at least given some sign of its intent to suppress it; but the Socialistic ministry with "Comrade" Millerand at its head, who, in order to gain and keep his post, not only showed that he is just like his colleagues, but even worse than they, the same Millerand who has broken his promise as a Socialist by the very acceptance of the ministry, and who has proven a traitor to the cause of "class consciousness," at the shooting of the strikers at Martinique and Chalons sur Saone, and on many other occasions. Millerand and his ministry went the ordinary government one better. They let us go for a whole year; did not even watch over the arrangements carried on for seven months by the committee; waited until reports were sent from all parts of the world, all delegates were in Paris, and the last finishing touch given to the Congress, and the social arranged for the evening previous; and then came down with an order suppressing the Congress, and all meetings protesting against such infamy.

One must be blind not to see that the intention of Galliffet's partner was not so much to hurt Anarchism; for he is really too insignificant a figure to succeed in something in which the united despots have failed; but to prove to the French bourgeois, that they are really safer with a Socialistic ministry, than with one of their own.

As I have already said, no other government would have waited until the last moment, the more so, as it is absolutely against the French law to suppress a peaceful meeting openly held; but Millerand knew how to get over this difficulty. He simply searched out the "*lois scelerates*," issued in 1894, during the number of acts of violence committed; against all Anarchistic meetings and publications, setting them down as criminal. At that time, Jaures was deputy; and he was among the most vigorous opponents of such an infernal law. He since then helped Millerand to the ministry; and Millerand uses the same outrageous law his comrade and bosom friend opposed, as an excuse to suppress our Congress. Such are the ironies of life.

Tuesday morning the 18th inst. our secretary, Comrade Remy, was called to the prefecture de police, police headquarters; and there he was told, that neither the social nor the Congress could take place, by order of the ministry. (By the way, here it is not like in our own "free land," where every captain or policeman can stop a meeting; the police here do not enjoy such power, they only act upon the order of the ministry.)

Comrade Remy immediately notified all those comrades he could reach; and the others, unaware of the ukase, went to the social; and found the doors of the hall locked and the street blocked by police. We called a secret meeting for Wednesday afternoon, at which only a few could be present owing to the danger involved, and more to the lack of space, as we were to meet outside of Paris in a small room. Here, then, huddled together in a stuffy room, in danger of being surprised by government hirelings, but with a zeal which knows no fear, were a few men and women, who have given the best years of their life for the cause, some having undergone years of privation, imprisonment, persecution and want, old in years and experience, but young in heart and spirit, ever ready to continue the fight for final human emancipation. Here we decided to hold several secret meetings, in order to discuss a few subjects of the many on the program for the Congress. But one of the first decisions was to protest most vigorously against the suppression of our Congress. In accordance with this, several French comrades arranged two meetings for Thursday afternoon and evening, in a hall called Maison du Peuple; but when we got there, the street was blocked by police, and one comrade, Libertas, arrested and brutally taken to the station. In the evening, the same spectacle of force and brutality, an increased force of police and detectives, with hidden cameras behind the windows of the hall, to photograph all those who came to protest.

Here I cannot help giving you a funny incident. M. Sully Prudhomme, a member of the Academy, the house of the forty immortals, into which a Zola is refused admission, a reactionary and hater of all progress, was driven to the Maison du Peuple by curiosity, and photographed. Now his glorious image hangs in the rogues' gallery at the prefecture de police, along with the pictures of the bravest and noblest men of France. Undoubtedly M. Sully Prudhomme never dreamed of such an honor; and in the future he will surely take care not to give way to curiosity, which is rather out of place for a man, especially a member of the Academy de France.

While we had our secret meeting outside of Paris, one of the trade unions of our Congress, the Bronze Workers, called a meeting of their own to protest against the suppression; but their meeting, too, was stopped, and the crowd dispersed by force. They have since manifested their protest through large posters posted all through Paris, denouncing the government, and declaring their intention of continuing the work of education and enlightenment, until the last vestige of tyranny is gone.

Another manifesto, of which I send you a copy for translation, and signed by the best known comrades of Paris, was issued on Friday, September 21, and spread all over town. As I already said, the public Congress of the International Revolutionary Workers was suppressed. Instead of that, four sessions were held secretly, to the peace of mind of all governmental cowards. However, be it said that no dynamite was fabricated, nor dagger sharpened at those meetings. The Revolutionists gathered from all over the world had really more important work to do, and higher aims to achieve than the removal of the heads of a few rotten kings.

(Continued on Page Three.)

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Anarchy.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

NOTES.

The comrades in the different cities should remember that the 11th of November is drawing near. This is the day which no Anarchist should ever suffer himself to forget. Wherever even a vestige of the propaganda exists, let the Chicago martyrs be remembered. Let a voice go up, that the people of America will hear. Hold memorial meetings everywhere. Now is the time to begin preparations.

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The man who believes in certain governmental "reforms" is amply warranted in resorting to the ballot to secure them; and the multiplicity of tickets in the field this year should afford him abundant opportunity to express his opinion. But for the convinced Anarchist, there is absolutely nothing of value in any political party in the field. Every one of them is bitterly opposed to our principles, and will do all it can to crush us. By voting, whether for Bryan, Debs, or anybody else, we play directly into the hands of the enemy. Comrades, stand firm!

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Some of the cartoons in The Examiner and other San Francisco dailies are exceedingly clever. For Anarchists, the most interesting fact about them is that every one is published in direct violation of law. These papers profess to abhor Anarchy, and yet only obey the law when it suits themselves. Being rich and powerful, they are enabled to do so with impunity. But what becomes of "the duty of every good citizen?"

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The report of the Paris Congress will be read with much interest. I will defer comment until next week. Another excellent account has been sent us by Comrade M. A. Cohn, covering the same ground, but entering less thoroughly into detail. I am sorry that space does not permit the publication of both reports.

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CURRENT NEWS.

As more complete news comes from China, the infamous conduct of the United States and other governments becomes more apparent. The city of Peking has been given over to the barbarous ravages of the burglarious "heroes" who represent the Christian nations of the world. Plunder and destruction are everywhere the rule. China must learn what civilization means, if a worse than Gothic vandalism can teach it to her. Meanwhile the United States government itself is not above playing the role of a despicable sneak thief. Four hundred thousand dollars worth of silver and gold bullion were stolen from the Chinese mint, and turned over to it. Are you not proud to live under a government of bandits? No wonder the maladministration accepts the French proposal to prohibit, at least for the present, the importation of arms into China. It would be inconvenient, for the purpose of "civilization," to have the heathen provided with the means of defence against Christian thieves.

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London, Oct. 1.—Speaking to The Daily News correspondent this afternoon, Archbishop Ireland said that he had been intrusted with a message to President McKinley from Pope Leo, expressing the Vatican's gratification at the American policy in the Philippines. The archbishop said:

"His holiness' friendly attitude toward the United States is manifested in the fact that he has refused to recognize the Filipino commission that sought the papal intervention.

"The pope has every confidence that the rights of the Church in the Philippines will be safeguarded by the American government. I was further informed by the pope that the church property in the island will continue to be held without a semblance of disturbance.

"Our representatives there enjoy unexampled facilities for spreading religion and truth and justice among the people. As an American and as a Catholic I am proud of the unity that exists between the government of my country and the government of my Church."—Press Dispatch.

This is respectfully referred to Living Issues, which is very sure that "there is no good for mankind in anything that the Roman Catholic Church supports."

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Paris, Sept. 17.—In today's session, after a long and exhaustive debate on the action of the Socialist Millerand, in accepting a portfolio as Minister of Commerce in the Waldeck-Rousseau cabinet, the Congress decided that under certain circumstances a Socialist is justified in taking such action.—Press Dispatch.

Undoubtedly Galliffet constitutes the "circumstances." Think of it! Millerand, elected as a Socialist, proves a traitor to Socialism, by taking his seat in a bourgeois cabinet, by the side of the brutal murderer of his brethren of the Commune; a traitor to labor, by helping to crush the strikes of workingmen for better conditions; a traitor to liberty, by reviving the monstrous "*lois scelerates*," in order to prohibit the sessions of an Anarchist Congress. And this man, branded as a triple traitor, receives the approval of the International Socialist Congress, composed of delegates from all over the world. If any evidence were required of the abyss to which political Socialism has sunk, it is here supplied. The final act of severance between parliamentary and revolutionary Socialists has taken place; and the proletarian must choose between Millerandism and Anarchism. To declare that a proletarian revolution by ballot-box methods is utterly hopeless, is not to impugn the honesty of thousands of sincere voters. It is simply to recognize the facts as they are, and to recall the deceived proletarians from the naivete which renders them the easy prey of every poitical adventurer.

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Paris, Sept. 29.—Urbain Gohier, the celebrated anti-militarist writer, has at last succeeded in organizing a women's anti-militarist league, the first meeting of which was held yesterday. The purpose of the society is announced as follows:

"First—To promote contempt for professional soldiers—men who abdicate all initiative and become paid murderers, the life-long slaves of superior officers, and the foes of right and justice, whenever so ordered.

"Second—To organize the overwhelming forces of universal womanhood in open rebellion against any government, party, or chief of State who engages in war, for whatever motive, it having been proved that diplomacy can solve any difference, however grave, by arbitration."

Telegrams were read at the meeting from some sympathizers with the movement in every country.

There were a dozen of these telegrams from as many cities in the United States, promising the prompt organization of American branches of the woman's Anti-Militarist League.—Press Dispatch.

Among the signs of the times, this must take its place as a significant step. The seeds of the anti-militarist spirit, sown by Socialists and Anarchists, amid the howls and sneers of the whole bourgeois world, are beginning to bear fruit. It is not yet so clearly seen that anti-militarism logically involves anti-governmentalism; but this conclusion must sooner or later follow. The twin barbarisms must perish together.

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H. G. Wilshire and other Social Democrats in Los Angeles, Cal., have been repeatedly arrested for speaking in a public park; but they have stood by their right of free speech, and at last won the day.

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The pope regrets that free speech is possible in Rome, "under the shelter of the public law." The spirit of the Inquisition is still in him and his Church. He dares publicly to regret what little liberty of expression exists in Italy on religious questions. Had he the power, imprisonment would seal the lips of any man who dared breathe a word against papal superstition. The Roman Catholic spirit is still, as always, that of tyranny and persecution.

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The miners appear ready to accept the paltry ten per cent concession, provided they can have some guarantee of its continuance. It is a meagre advance, and hardly worth the struggle.

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DISCORDS.

The noble Bierce now advocates compulsory military service, for the purpose of teaching "patriotism." Every man a trained murderer, implies to him the loftiest conceivable moral ideal. Besides, it would serve to impress more fully on the individual that he has no right, even to the possession of his own body, when a clique of politicians wish him murdered for their benefit. This is what imperialism means; and Bierce is simply more frankly brutal than many of his fellow-plotters.

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"Liberty implies the repudiation of all masters," says one. Despots, certainly; but did it ever occur to the Anarchist that the enforcement of the laws of order is absolutely essential to liberty! It occurs to us that the reconstruction of human society on the basis of liberty, demands a Master of the entire situation!—The Flaming Sword.

"Did it ever occur to the" Koreshan that order is the legitimate offspring of liberty? The race has had experience with masters of every type, and has found no reason to bless any of them. It may be added that, as a rule, the worst and most despotic have been those who claimed a divine commission.

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Living Issues is badly rattled. Its conception of free love as wholesale prostitution, and that of Anarchy as wholesale assassination, come about as near the mark as the average Catholic's conception of Living Issues. It cuts a sorry figure in its attempted justification of the British-American policy of Imperialism. We live under American rule simply as a choice of evils, just as does the editor of Living Issues. We might retort his own question, and ask him why he stays in such a priest-ridden country, as he himself declares this to be. It is cheap talk to advise every reformer to leave his country, instead of exercising his right of free speech, and trying to bring about better conditions at home.

The Filipinos did offer peace, on condition of the expulsion of the friars, at a meeting held June 24, in Manila. There were six other conditions, all of which were satisfactory to the Americans. The 200 Filipinos present had the assurance that Aguinaldo would abide by their decision. The whole matter turned on the friars, whose cause McKinley determined to support, at whatever cost of life.

As to the American soldiers, it will do Living Issues good to read the report of W. E. Johnson, sent by the New Voice to Manila as special investigator. Not one of his statements of fact has been disputed. Let the editor also read the record taken from the administration organ in Manila, and reprinted in last week's Free Society. I did not say the soldiers were syphilitic at the time of enlistment, but that they are so now. Considering that the statistics of the government hospital show that ten thousand soldiers have been treated for venereal disease, besides the thousands who have resorted to private physicians, I have nothing to retract. Dare Living Issues say that as large a proportion of the citizens of San Francisco are rotting to death, in consequence of "their own physical excesses?"

As free love means simply love in freedom, and is opposed to all forms of prostitution and degradation, it is fitting that we should point out the disgusting results of present conditions. Nor do we consider that hired murderers should be any more exempt than other men from being shown up in their true light.

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TOLSTOI AND THE TIMES.

It is not yet possible to interpret the place which Tolstoi holds in the world. His real place in history can only be seen, after the seed which he is sowing shall have brought forth an abundant harvest.

Our greatest men cannot be understood in their own time. It is only after many years, that we can have an opportunity to relate them to the peculiar conditions of their age, and to the needs of the people. Then we can see the real power of their work.

In their own day they must be called fanatics, cranks, visionaries, and dreamers. They must be misunderstood by the popular crowd. Only a few can detect their worth, admire their standards and believe in the righteous trend of events, that calls forth the prophets, and reformers, who bring us new ideas, new relations of truth, new examples of living, and make progress possible.

Why is this so little understood by the thoughtful? We see condemnation and cruel words on every hand. The conservative cannot understand the radical reformer; so he cuts and misinterprets him at every opportunity. The radical judges all conservatives by the partisans and hypocrites, and attributes no honesty to their motives.

Such hate and vituperation hinder truth, and obscure the vision of it. Hate begets hate. Every manifestation of it by abusive language hurts our own cause in whatever field we work. It cultivates, in the persons using it, a habit of thought and expression, which hinder their best development and make their work less effective.

It was so in the olden time; and it is so now even more; for we understand the law of cause and effect in the spiritual realm better than ever before.

Count Tolstoi gets his share of abuse; though strange

to say, he has gone so far in his theory of non-resistance that the people in power do not fear him much, thinking his theories impossible of practice. But they have cause to fear the effect of his influence, because of the power he holds over the peasants of Russia. The poor look to him as their savior; and should he be imprisoned for standing up for justice, he would be more dangerous than now. An imprisoned or dead Tolstoi may exert more influence than a living one! We shall see.

To me Count Tolstoi is a prophet, and shows it by his life and words.

He is unique: born in a despotic government, he has become the most democratic man who ever lived; born where law is considered divine, he has renounced all governmental authority. Bred in the midst of luxury, and living with the nobility, he has disclaimed all titles and denied himself everything but the simplest food and clothing: born to be waited upon by servants at every turn, and to tyrannize at will, he has become the brother and fellow laborer with the peasant: born with a great genius for literary labors, and able to win the applause of those in high places, he devotes much of his time to manual labor, and writes simply that "the people" may be helped: born with an eye for beauty, he abandons all ostentation, and shares his wealth—with his peasants.

Today we are living in a new epoch. This is a time when the great social questions are becoming a living power in the thoughtful world. When man's relation to his fellow-man is of paramount importance—when the struggle between capital and labor, exploiter and exploited is becoming better understood; when earnest thinkers on economics have written their message, and have thrown light upon the causes of the evils and abuses of society.

In this age, appear Tolstoi, Kropotkin, Marx, Whitman, Morris, Henry George, Edward Bellamy, and many others of less fame. They all saw the existing evils and inconsistencies of civilized life. No one man can detect all causes or give an infallible remedy; but as all work together, the question is becoming simplified and plain.

The complex and inconsistent political economy of the conservative past, with its falsehoods and elaborate system, trying to prove black white, and selfishness the first law of society, is fast breaking away among those who investigate. Our theory of economics teaches that man is inherently a spiritual being, with noble impulses and unselfish propensities; that equity of opportunity is essential, in the name of justice, and private ownership of land or other property fatal to such equity; that men and women are brothers and sisters, and not ravening wolves threatening to devour one another; that man can be saved by the hidden light of his Godgiven nature, if opportunities are such as to give him a chance to grow naturally; that freedom from restraint, other than the restraints of conscience, and labor, is necessary to perfect our individuality: that to have freedom, law becomes a hindrance to our highest expression of life: that education furnishes the means much more effectively, when not forced upon the individual, but when made an example and stimulus through right living and an appeal to the ideals and aspirations; that education is not to leave man or woman in ignorance concerning their natures, by keeping secret the uses and complexity of the sexual life—that education, freedom, and right ideals of love, can best remedy the awful sexual evils of society; and that cooperation, being the most economical way of regulating the material interests of society, does not necessarily mean a giving up our individuality, or trying to make of man a mere machine, forgetting that men are infinite in variety, and must not be moulded to suit the system of economics.

Tolstoi touches upon nearly all of these topics, and treats them in a thoroughly original way. He becomes an ascetic on the sex question; fails to see the train of events toward perfection, when he belittles art; and refuses to see the *good coming out* of some of our stumbling stones, such as machinery, monopoly and trusts, divorces, etc.

Nevertheless, he sees farther than any other man, and is the grandest and most unique character of modern times. He is living an upright and unselfish life, and working out the worst possible tangle of thought, brought about by the abuses of our so-called Christian civilization.

He is using all of his mighty power to do away with selfishness, and legal tyranny and murder; and he is doing it by his life, and not alone by fine spun theories. Every day, by every act, and by every word, he is making a protest against selfishness and injustice, such as will effect the world in a way we can little dream of. The seen forces alone are powerful; what of the vast mass of unseen power that no man can weigh or measure?

Let us learn of him, even though he is not correct in all of his theories. Surely in the essential things he is right; for he teaches that the golden rule is necessary between man and man, nation and nation. Evil begets evil: love begets love. example begets example. This is a law in the spiritual realm.

MARTHA E. ELKINS.

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THE MISSIONARIES---AND OPIUM.

I shall be better able to appreciate Mr. Byington's criticism about Tien-te, (*not* "on missionaries,") when "specifications are forthcoming." He is at liberty to consider that the "demand" for them exists. But he has given in advance a few, to which I will reply now. I several times cited other authorities than Williams, and therefore can by no possibility have "given the impression that my statements about Chinese matters are all from the same source." I "repeatedly" said, as Byington remarks, that I would cite no other—meaning what? Obviously, each time I said so, that Williams was enough for the topic then in hand. I don't believe I have attributed "expressly" to Williams, any statement, important or unimportant, which Williams did not make; but I wait for "specifications."

The "rather important fact" I denied by saying it was "unstated," is that the Chinese Christians at Thistlemount did not tolerate idolatry. It *is* unstated in Williams' account of Thistlemount, vol. ii, ch. xxiv, p. 589 If any such statement can be incidentally found somewhere else, I shall still doubt it—not because such conduct would be at all unlike Christians generally; but because these particular Christians notoriously acted with idolatrous patriots, all through their heroic struggle for liberty, toleration, and a higher social state.

"The rather important" matter I denied by saying I had looked carefully through Williams and not found it, is a list of Protestant martyrs in China, outside the Taeping movement. I have looked again, and cannot find it yet. But I do *not* deny it may be there. I found the Catholic martyrs easily enough.

That the early Protestant missionaries to China were not all in the employ of the opium trade, I will be happy to believe, when Mr. Byington, or somebody else, tells me about one who wasn't. Does Mr. Byington mean to deny that Morrison's employers were opium smugglers, or that Gutzlaff, probably the most famous propagandist of the bourgeois gospel in China, was an opium smuggler himself? (See Williams, vol. ii, pp. 308 cf. 378; and see 329.)

And why should Mr. Byington say I suppress all the creditable facts on one side, or all the discreditable on the other? Did I suppress the fact that Morrison's Chinese dictionary is a great and useful work? Or the fact that Tien-te was ignorant enough to think he could marry the Virgin Mary's sister? I give the Protestant missionories full credit for being ashamed of their share in the opium trade; and acknowledged that their pet cannibal, "Chinese" Gordon,—whom I am glad to see Mr. Byington does not attempt defending—was angry with his native colleague about the Suchau massacre. I only added that they could scarcely feel otherwise.

The last paragraph in Mr. Byington's critique implies that I, an Anarchist, inconsistently praised Tien-te, a statesman and warrior. I reply that I praised him only so far as he deserved it. The best title I gave him was "a Christian martyr." If I had said "an Anarchist martyr," the case would have been different. I know he was not that. But statesmen and warriors have been too common among Christians to allow demur because one of the former is classed with the latter: and surely the epithet of martyr is justly given to one who died for his religion, after being identified with its cause during many years.

The Triad or Water Lily Society, which Byington accuses me of confounding with the Taoists, is as much a part of Taoism as Anabaptism was a part of the Reformation. To prove this would require a good many words; but it is evident enough to one who knows the characteristics of the larger Chinese religions. See Douglas, "Confucianism and Taoism"; Rhys Davids, "Buddhism"; Williams, ch. xxviii.

C. L. JAMES.

THE PARIS CONGRESS.

Continued from Page One.

At the meetings, we discussed and organized a Bureau of International Correspondence, or International Federation, based upon national federation, for the purpose of better acquainting each other with the economic, political and ethical state of the movement in each country, and the practice of the principle of solidarity. To accomplish the former, each country is to issue a quarterly bulletin, to be sent to all countries, and those to do the same. In this way, it is hoped, the comrades will keep in touch with each other, which has so far not been the case. As to the latter, it certainly has been sadly neglected so far. Comrades came to a strange land, the language of which they did not know; and without means or friends, they often have been near starvation. This is to be done away with through the International Bureau. So when a comrade comes to Paris, London, Madrid, or Constantinople, he will know where to find friends. I cannot dwell upon this matter elaborately in this report; but I can promise the comrades, they will learn more about it soon.

The second matter discussed and decided upon, was the publication of all the reports sent to the Congress in book form; but as we have not enough money to do it right now, the reports will be published in the supplement of Les Temps Nouveaux, the plates set aside and a book made out of all the plates when ready. For this, money is needed; and I herewith appeal to all the comrades in America, to put their hands into their pockets, and send on their mite to the secretary, whose name and address will be given in a week or so.

We have received ninety reports on all possible subjects; and although only twenty or twenty-five are in the form of an essay; yet the others are not less interesting, and will be published in a resume.

The third and last thing decided was to issue a manifesto, together with all the subjects on the program for the Congress, the names of all reports and the nationalities of those who have taken part, to be published in L'Aurore, a radical daily in Paris, Les Temps Noveaux and Libertaire. These are to be sent to all the trades unions, that were to participate, with a request to send on the papers to the trades unions of the world, asking them to protest with us against the suppression of the Congress of the International Revolutionary Workers of the World.

To give you an idea of the vast amount of work done for the Congress, a list of subjects for discussion and reports sent in will be given next week.

Paris, September 25, 1900. E. GOLDMAN.

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CIVILIZATION AND BURGLARY.

The story that comes from Peking from the pen of Edward Wildman, The Examiner's special commissioner to China, is one to cause the Christian nations to blush with shame. Their troops went into China as the representatives of Western civilization and Western morality to enforce the rights of ambassadors, and to punish the crimes of which the Chinese had been guilty. The troops turned aside from their high mission to become burglars and murderers. The accounts show that they broke into every house that promised to contain anything of value, stole what they wanted, destroyed what they did not want, and killed any of the Chinese who objected.

The justification alleged for this sort of work is the horrid crimes of the Chinese who attacked the legations and butchered Christian converts. But punishment that does not seek to distinguish innocent from guilty, and is inflicted through murder and robbery, does not inspire respect. If it is the best that Western civilization can do in that line, we cannot honestly say that it is far superior to the methods of the Boxers whose ferocity brought about the troubles in the Orient.—San Francisco Examiner.

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Literature.

The Wedding Night. By Ida C. Craddock. Denver, Colo., Ida C. Craddock, 1838 California St. Price 50c.

This little book will startle many by its plainness of speech on the details of sex companionship. It is, however, written with an earnest purpose, and from the standpoint of what the author believes to be ideal purity. Not having the fear of Comstock before her eyes, she does not hamper her advice with the prudish reticence which renders many works of similar purport almost worthless. There is much that is admirable and instructive in the treatise, as well as the exposition of certain striking theories which will not be accepted by all readers.

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GENERAL OUTLINE FOR A COURSE OF ANARCHISTIC STUDY.

BY C. L JAMES.

SUBJECTS OF LESSONS.

1. Origins of Political, Economic, and Religious Authority.
2. Softening of Authority by Culture.
3. Civil Government the Stay of Remaining Authority and Barbarism.
4. Freedom Stimulates; Authority Depresses Civilization.
5. Government not needed for Protection against Violence.
6. Belief in Government Essentially Superstitions.
7. Science the Remedy for Superstition.
8. Progress in the Right Direction.
9. The Anarchist Movement in History.
10. Anarchism not Dependent on any Metaphysical System.
11. A Peril to Anarchism, The Movement in Favor of Ignorance.
12. Anarchism and Personal Conduct.

LESSON I.

ORIGINS OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY.

Subordinate topics and books bearing thereon.

The Subject in General: Sir John Lubbock's *Origin of Civilization and Primitive Conditions of Man.*

Marriage and the Sexual Relations.—Lubbock *cit. Chaps. on;* Bachofen, *Mutterrecht;* McLennan, *Primitive Marriage.*

Effects of Marriage and the Sexual Relations upon Subjection of Men to Each Other.—Bonar, *Malthus and His Work;* John Stuart Mill, *Posthumous Papers on Socialism;* E. B. Tyler, *Early History of Mankind;* Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion;* W. R. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage;* Fraser, *Totemism;* Grote, *History of Greece, Part IV, Chap. X,* part relating to *Gentilism;* Sanger, *History of Prostitution.*

Taboo and Criminal Law.—Nordhoff, *New Zealand in Island World;* Blackstone's *Commentaries,* part relating to crime; Austin, *Province of Jurisprudence;* Maine, *Ancient Law,* and *Village Communities;* Gomme, *The Village Community;* Grote, *cit. Part II, Chaps. X, XI;* Hallam, *The Middle Ages, Chap. IX, Part II.*

LESSON II.

SOFTENING OF AUTHORITY BY CULTURE.

The Subject in General: Aristotle, *Politics;* Lubbock, *cit. Chaps. III, IV, XI;* Encyclopedia Britannica, article *Government* (observe increase of recent legislation under the rule of the ignorant class) ib. article *Law.*

Economic Transitions: Slavery, Serfdom, Caste, Wage Labor.—Encyclopedia Britannica, articles *Slavery* and *Caste;* Monier Williams, *Hinduism;* Hallam, *Middle Ages;* Malthus, *Principles of Population,* and *Political Economy,* also Bonar, *Malthus;* Hodgson, *Italy and Her Invaders;* Michelet, *History of France;* Guizot, *History of Civilization;* Brentano, on *Guilds;* Toynbee, *Industrial Revolution;* Ingraham, *History of Political Economy;* Marx, *Capital.*

Social Customs.—Lubbock, *cit. Chaps. II, V, IX, XI;* Herbert Spencer, *Manners and Fashion.*

Religion and Superstition.—Lecky, *History of Rationalism;* Condorcet, *L'esprit Humain;* Locke, *Toleration.*

Sexual Relations.—Lecky, *Rationalism,* and *History of Morals;* Bishop, *Marriage and Divorce;* Jacobi, on *Woman's Suffrage.*

Education.—Herbert Spencer, *Essay on;* Froebel, *Education of Man;* Richter, *Levana;* Rousseau, *Emile.*

Treatment of Criminals.—Beccaria, *Crimes and Punishments;* Wines, *Punishment and Reformation;* Herbert Spencer in *Essays of.*

REJOINDER.

Bolton Hall, in Free Society of September 23, says my argument, relative to taxing land to its full rental value, is "ingenious," and, he thinks, "new." He says, "the rental value would be what men would give in the market, for the use of it; not its full capacity." Where men were free to employ themselves upon the boundless resources of nature, men would not be willing to pay all that unremitting toil could squeeze out of land—they would pay only the value of that site to the customary labor over the value of other sites." It seems to me, where men were *free* to employ themselves upon the boundless resources of nature, men would not be willing to pay any tax at all. It also seems to me that, under any system of government, the attempt to tax land beyond the power of money-sharks to control land, involves the necessity of taxing land to the full extent of man's power of labor to produce from land; or there will be a margin left for speculation; the wages of labor would be the same as now, a bare living; the remainder of the products of going into the hands of monopoly—the governing power. And this is the price men would be *compelled* to "give in the market for the use of it."

A tax can be collected only from the products of labor; and it seems to me that labor is as effectually robbed by a tax paid in to the great monopoly at Washington, D. C., or the public treasury, as by a tax paid to a single person granted the legal right to exact it. I expect that as soon as people become conscious of this fact, they will cause taxation to disappear. A. A. ORCUTT.

CHORDS.

"Well, suh," said the old time colored voter, "de ways er de candidate is past findin' out. All de year I have been like one cryin' in the wilderness; 'en no man 'spon ter my cry. I holler for bread; and dey give me a Belgian block en 30 days. En now look at 'em! 'Leckshun times come on; en bless God if dey ain't pay my house rent, took de mortgage off my mule, settle my street tax, en gimme enough ole cloze ter go to preachin'. En all I got ter my name is one vote en de rheumatism."—Atlanta Constitution.

So far as there is an argument in McKinley's letter it runs something like this:

"The Republican party believes in the Declaration of Independence and the consent of the governed;

"I will decide for the Filipinos what kind of a government is best for them.

"Therefore, there can be no imperialism."—Justice.

Order reigns in Chicago—restored by the arrest of a boy, Kleinman, for distributing a leaflet, "Another Blow to Royalty." Have not the Chicago police and other police learned from experience, that the more they exclude the workingmen from knowledge to which they are entitled, the greater will be the effort to spread the light?—Labor Record

The glad hand will be extended to the farmers who attend the country fairs this fall. The politician behind the hand wants to get it into the farmer's pocket later on; but he does not mention this.—Farm and Factory.

"There are good and bad trusts," say our friends. I suppose the good old Jeffersonian ice trust of Croker and the good old Jacksonian copper trust of Clark are good Democratic ones. While the good Hamiltonian Oil trust of Rockefeller and the Harrisonian steel trust of Gates are the good Republican ones. The only "bad" trust discovered up to date by either party has been the labor trust.—The Toiler.

Because of his love for workingmen, Mr. Bryan refrains from distressing them by reminder of their treatment by a governor of his party in Idaho.—Public Ownership.

Why is Roosevelt wasting his time in the western States, while there are lots of strikers to be shot in Pennsylvania? —Workers' Call.

Mark Hanna claims to be a friend of organized labor. His next claim will probably be that he is the Messiah.—San Francisco Star.

The real paramount issue is to get votes, and that's the truth of the matter. —Labor World.

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Freiheit, a German Anarchist Communist weekly. Four large pages. $2 per year. Address, 69 Gold St., New York, N. Y.

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Freie Arbeiter-Stimme, a Jewish weekly of 16 pages, an advocate of Anarchist Communism, appears regularly at 181 Madison St., New York City. Price, $1.50 per year.

Freedom, monthly journal of Anarchist-Communism. Address: 7, Lambs Conduit Street London, W. C. England. Price 40 cents per year, postpaid. Order from Free Society.

Progressive Thought, the oldest organ of the Labor Exchange movement. It is full of L. E. news, gives co-operative facts and advocates the way out of hard times. Address: Freedom, Kans. Send for sample copies.

Lucifer, the Light-Bearer Weekly eight pages. $1 per year. This paper gives light on the Sex Question, Humanity's greatest need For Sample copies write to M. Harman, 507 Carroll ave. Chicago, Ill.

The Free Commune. A magazine of Libertarian Thought. Published Quarterly by The Leeds Free Communist Group. Address: W. MacQueen, 79 Markham Ave., Harehills, Leeds, England

Vaccination, a journal of health, published monthly for the Anti-Vaccination Society of America. Tells the truth about vaccination. 1328 North 12th St., Terre Haute, Ind. Sample copy free.

L'Aurora, an Anarchist weekly. Address: Box 92, Yohoghany, Pa.

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